

cause for which he is generally respected.

The leaders of the party who are not candidates for reelection to Congress believe the President will exert his influence to bringing the Congressional leaders to realize that the lessons involved are too serious to be overlooked and require firmer leadership and greater cooperation between the Administration and Congress.

Republican leaders, united in the declaration that the trend of public sentiment revealed in the Indiana and Pennsylvania primaries was more in the nature of "a liberal insurgent protest" against political conditions generally than as favoring the revival of the Progressive movement of ten years ago, which is now regarded as obsolete.

The two fundamental causes generally accepted as having most largely contributed to the success of Senator Pepper and Mr. Pinchot were radically different in character. Both men are regarded as examples of the very highest type of American citizenship. Mr. Pepper's course during his brief career in the Senate is conceded to have been marked by an independence of reactionary influences, a broad vision in appraising current and coming events and the highest degree of personal and legislative courage.

Mr. Pinchot is accorded praise by even the reactionary leaders in the party, against whom he has consistently waged war. His fight was against bosses, or rather the remnants of the once powerful machine that the late Mr. Penrose successfully boarded. Like Mr. Penrose, the new Republican nominee for Governor of Pennsylvania conducted a personal campaign with little if any direct bearing on the Harding administration and Republican Congress, yet sufficiently liberal to attract the support of voters discontented with the course pursued by both to date.

If Penrose Had Been Alive. More than one Republican leader expressed the opinion to-day that "if Boies Penrose had been alive Pinchot could not have won." That is probably true, because if Mr. Penrose were alive there probably would not have been the squabbling among and breaking up of the Pennsylvania units of the machine which recognized him as leader.

There is little question, however, that the results in the Pennsylvania primaries were in a substantial measure influenced by conditions in Washington, resentment against the "economic budgeoning" tariff and the bonus raid on the public Treasury.

Both of these proposals are of Congressional origin. The first is in a fair way to result in an insurgent movement within the Republican party that will synchronize with some phases of the Indiana and Pennsylvania primary contests. Already Republican Senators of independent tendencies are beginning to express condemnation of the Fordney-McCumber tariff measure, which is properly appraised as a mosaic of unrelated items dictated by parochial influences and supported by log-rolling politicians.

Within the last three days several Republican Senators whose votes were counted for the tariff have openly expressed condemnation of it. These are Senators Capper of Kansas, Norris of Nebraska and Lenroot of Wisconsin. They will undoubtedly be joined by other Senators who will insist that the "botch" of a tariff measure prepared by Messrs. Fordney and McCumber be recommitted for intelligent rearrangement and scientific adjustment of rates or be set aside until after the coming elections.

Not even the most ardent bonus advocates in Washington dispute the manifest importance of the controversy over it in the Pennsylvania results. Senator Pepper declared his opposition to the bonus both before his appointment and after he had taken his seat. He denounced it as unpatriotic, politically unwise and economically unsound.

Raiders' War on Pepper. When he announced himself as a candidate for renomination officials of the American Legion and those of the Veterans of Foreign Wars boldly declared war on him. They predicted his defeat by a tremendous majority. They combined with the bonus claimants, and foreign Veterans profess to speak openly, and committed themselves to the support of Representative Burke of Pittsburgh.

An alliance was formed by the bonus claimants with some of the labor groups. The official rolls of the Government show that there are 385,000 ex-service men among the voters of Pennsylvania, who would be entitled to a share of the bonus loot on the Treasury.

The contest between Senator Pepper and Representative Burke was everywhere recognized as a straight-out test over the bonus. Senator Pepper in appealing to the voters of his State courageously declared his opposition to the bonus. Many of his less intrepid associates expressed the opinion that he was "taking his life in his hands."

The results showed that Senator Pepper was not doing anything of the sort and that he properly gauged the sentiment of the people of Pennsylvania regarding the bonus. So confident were the promoters of the bonus that Mr. Pepper would be defeated that the contest between him and Representative Burke was watched with rather more interest by many members of Congress than that of equal importance between Mr. Pinchot and Attorney-General Alter.

Signs of Senatorial Uneasiness. When the returns indicated that Senator Pepper would win by a majority exceeding 200,000 in a primary vote approximately only about 50 per cent. of the total of 1,218,215 given to President Harding, Senators who had committed themselves to the bonus displayed signs of uneasiness. The most significant feature of the results was that Mr. Burke did not pull a majority of the votes of ex-service men, as indicated by returns received to-night. The fact made a pronounced impression on the supporters of the bonus, because it clearly showed that the larger number of ex-service men in Pennsylvania resented the effort to capitalize their patriotism and rallied to the support of Mr. Pepper. The latter, who returned to the Senate from the scene of battle to-day, was congratulated by his associates for his impressive victory.

The effect of it was noticeable by the anxiety displayed by the bonus Senators regarding the outlook for the measures they counted on to win the votes of the soldier population. So pronounced was the opinion that the

American Legion is actually without any power to influence the results of elections that no move was made to-day to move the bonus bill.

Chairman McCumber and other bonus Senators said they did not know whether President Harding would formally notify them of his opposition to the McCumber and Smoot measures which were presented to him the other day. The President has caused it to be known that he does not look with favor upon either project.

Mr. McCumber said to-night he would probably ask the President for a reply to the request for suggestions regarding the matter. He admitted that he did not expect the President would add to the statements already made by him. Furthermore, Mr. McCumber did not appear to be certain just what the Finance Committee would do with his bonus bills now before it.

The impression gained ground among Senators this afternoon that it would be some time before any move was made to substitute the bonus bill for the tariff measure, which is causing a great deal more trouble than was expected when it was presented.

Congressional Opinion. Members of the two Houses devoted most of their time to-day discussing the results in the Pennsylvania primaries. The regular Republicans had little to say for publication. Senators and Representatives who are not in accord with Executive and Congressional leadership generally expressed the opinion that the Indiana and Pennsylvania results showed the existence of a "disaffection" in Congress.

The Democratic Senators and Representatives hailed the Pennsylvania results as a sign that the country is beginning to look favorably upon Democratic institutions and individuals, although the more candid of them admitted that the Pennsylvania decision was the result of a "family row."

The opportunity to admonish the Republican majority in the Senate was too inviting to overlook. Discussion of it featured the debate over the tariff bill. Senator Harrison, Democrat, of Mississippi, enumerated the results of several local elections and primary contests during the last month, including that in the Thirty-seventh Congressional district of New York. He pointed out that the results of the Indiana primaries showed which way the political winds are blowing in the great middle West.

Referring to the results in Pennsylvania, the Mississippi Senator said: "Yesterday they had a primary election in Pennsylvania. There were two candidates for the Republican nomination for Governor, Mr. Alter and Mr. Pinchot. The reactionary leaders did not think Mr. Pinchot was a chance. Pinchot was a Progressive and he criticized the national Administration and the Old Guard that has held a stranglehold on the politics of the civil war."

"I reveal no secret when I say the Old Guard of the reactionary element in the two houses of Congress were opposed to Mr. Pinchot, because they knew his nomination would be a black eye to the Old Guard politics. "No wonder you Republicans are heavy at heart. It is bad news and it indicates that even in Republican primaries the Republicans cannot stomach the policies of this Administration. It is a warning to you to heed the warning to stop before you go further in putting over a tariff bill that will extort from the people higher prices for all the necessities of life."

## REPUBLICANS WILL WIN, SAYS SENATOR PEPPER

Are Doing Their Own Thinking, His View of Primaries.

Special Dispatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD. New York Herald Bureau, Washington, D. C., May 17. Here is how the Senators view the results of the Pennsylvania primary election:

Senator Pepper (Pa.): "The results of the primary show that the Republicans of Pennsylvania are very much alive, that they are doing their own thinking and that the party will give a good account of itself next fall. If the majority reported to have been correct, it is simply overwhelming. It is a mark of confidence which I shall try hard to justify. It is a profound satisfaction to look forward to association with Senator Reed in the service of Pennsylvania. It is too early to make an analysis of the vote or to draw inferences from the campaign. As yet nobody has thoroughly accounted to the working of the direct primary system. We must all do constructive thinking about it before the next nominations are made."

Senator Lenroot (Wis.): "I am delighted with the victory of Pinchot. You ask if I regard it as a rebuke to the Administration. I do not so consider it. The women had a great deal to do with the result. If the reactionaries think the country has gone reactionary they are mistaken."

Senator Borah (Idaho): "The results indicate a popular revolt. Pinchot's victory is the most remarkable political revolution of the decade. It brings the most encouraging outlook for the future. I sincerely congratulate the people of Pennsylvania."

Senator Capper (Kan.): "Chairman of the American Legion. It is very encouraging to see Pennsylvania break away from the control of the machine crowd. Pinchot will make a great Governor and it is the best thing for Pennsylvania's political future that could have happened. Pinchot's victory indicates the people of Pennsylvania again have endorsed progressive policies which once swept the State for Roosevelt."

## HULL SEES REBUE IN REPUBLICAN VOTE

Pennsylvania Result Blow at Administration, He Says.

WASHINGTON, May 17.—Cordell Hull, chairman of the National Democratic Committee, said to-night that the "success of the Pennsylvania Republicans in revolt against the reactionary leadership of their party, following the lead of Indiana Republicans in nominating a former Bull Moose for Governor, is a defeat for the party organization in the State and a rebuke for the party organization in the nation."

"The reported defeat of six Administration candidates for Congress," he added, "emphasizes the rebuke to the national Administration. The regular Republican organizations in Pennsylvania and Indiana now destroyed were controlling factors in the Republican National Convention of 1920 and have been functioning in closest political and official cooperation under the present national Administration."

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## SEES HELP TO HAGUE IN GENOA FAILURES

Lloyd George Says Capitalism and Communism Cannot Be Reconciled.

## TOO MANY OPINIONS

Cause of Parley Breakdown to Be Avoided at New Conference.

## EXPERTS TO CLEAR WAY

Premier in Statement Tells What He Expects to Accomplish at Next Gathering.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK HERALD. Copyright, 1922, by THE NEW YORK HERALD. GENOA, May 17.—In the following statement made to-day, Prime Minister Lloyd George tells what he expects at The Hague, and admits that the Genoa conference failed because of the impossibility of reconciling the principles of Communism with those of capitalism.

"I should like to say two or three interesting things about what befell Teltchierin in his very interesting opening statement. I am not going to say anything further of the exclusion of the Germans, for we discussed that yesterday and assigned our reasons, which, I think, were fair and sound. It is perfectly true that the Germans will be excluded from discussing credits; but before you ever get to credits there is no doubt at all you have got to clear away very difficult questions in regard to private property and debts.

"When you come to credits, moreover, it has been realized that Germany is not a country which at the present moment can furnish credits to anybody. The contribution cannot be a very substantial one, at any rate, whereas, if she were present, she would be taking part in the discussion of subjects she herself already has come to an arrangement with the Russian Government.

## Can Help Russia's Problem.

"You cannot, of course, exclude Germany from cooperating in the reconstruction of Russia, and it would be folly to attempt to do so. It is desirable to get the cooperation of all who can make any contribution.

"In regard to place, Teltchierin objects to The Hague. Well, it is a very difficult thing to choose a place. He suggested two capitals, Rome and London. Let us speak quite frankly about this. We have represented a certain point of view here which has not been accepted by the representatives of every country of Europe, and I think it desirable that the discussion should take place where it does take place, within an atmosphere removed from any definite point of view.

"The Hague is a place internationalized by tradition, where you have had great international questions discussed in the past and where there is the necessary international atmosphere. The same might not apply to Amsterdam, which has very definite views on the subject; but The Hague has no views, and no right to views on anything, because it is an international center. That's the advantage of The Hague. The place of meeting must necessarily be a point where the views of the majority must prevail.

"There is no question of the principle involved, but a question of the convenience of the majority of the people to go there. There are certain things the majority cannot decide, such as questions of principle like those that have been under discussion here; but in the question of convenience I suggest to the Russian delegation that the views of the majority must necessarily prevail.

## Too Many Differences.

"I now come to another observation made by Teltchierin which I cannot allow to pass unchallenged. He said that we failed to come to an agreement here because we discussed things separately. Well, it's no use our concealing the facts from ourselves, because they have the unpleasant habit of coming to the surface again after we have buried them.

"The real fact is that there has been such a divergence of opinion on questions of vital principle that it was found impossible to reconcile them. Therefore we have had to try to approach a problem from a different point of view, seeing whether we cannot reconcile these divergencies in practice if we cannot in principle.

"That is why we are relegating it to experts, to explore the grounds to begin with and to see if there are insuperable practical objections. There is no doubt at all that the two systems are quite irreconcilable—the system in Russia, and that obtaining in other parts of the world. They are becoming nearer. After all, there is a vast amount of private property in Russia. Nominally the land is nationalized, but in reality it is under peasant proprietorship. There is no use trying to conceal that fact, for no one can turn the peasants out of their land, whatever decrees are issued by Moscow. It will result in the end in the same system followed in the French revolution—a system of peasant proprietorship.

## History and Teltchierin.

"It is a very dangerous thing, however, to discuss history with Teltchierin. I have observed that, and I hope he will not follow my example. That, however, is the real reason. The first of May did something to do with it, too. It is very unfortunate that we should have met on the first of May, because things happened in Russia which gave undue prominence to certain principles. They had their repercussions or reaction even as far as Rapallo. And they had an in-

## WHAT GENOA PARLEY DID, FAILED TO DO, AND AVOIDED

Temporary Truce on Frontiers and Agreement to Try Negotiations Between Communism and Capitalism, Included in the Work Accomplished.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK HERALD. Copyright, 1922, by THE NEW YORK HERALD. GENOA, May 17.—Following is a summary of the work of the economic and financial conference, convoked in accordance with the Cannes agreement by the Supreme Council:

## WHAT THE CONFERENCE HAS ACCOMPLISHED.

An invitation to the United States of America to sit in council for the restoration of order in Europe, which Genoa thinks will be accepted.

An agreement for a truce on troubled frontiers for four months from the end of the Hague conference.

An agreement by the Russians to sit in with capitalist States to see where the conference failed.

General settlement, treaties of peace and de jure recognition of Russia. Signature of a permanent pact of non-aggression over a term of years, to be followed by measures for land disarmament.

## PERILS AVOIDED AT GENOA.

A new alignment of the nations of Europe: (A) Germany and Russia against the western world; (B) England and possibly others lining up with those two against France, Poland and the Little Entente.

Influence upon the attitude of the Russian delegation, and made it very much more difficult for them to come to terms.

"In their own hearts, the Russian delegation know perfectly well, whether we met in mixed commissions, mixed political committees, or however we met, they would be up against something which in principle was irreconcilable, and therefore the subject has to be approached in a different way. That is the reason they meet in their separate commissions, and must do so at The Hague.

"Even if they said we must have a mixed commission meeting morning, noon and night, if we separated at midnight the Russians would meet together at 12:30, and discuss matters until 10 o'clock the following morning. I am certain of that. You cannot prevent it. We all have the habit of discussion, some of us more abnormally developed than others.

"I do not think, therefore, that having two commissions can be objected to. That is what would really happen, whether we called it a mixed commission or otherwise. They would meet separately with their eight independent republics, and we should meet with our twenty-five nations—nations which, I hope, are more independent. Therefore, until we grasp that reality: that we cannot reconcile principles but we may in practice be able to arrive at some accommodation between these two systems, we shall never succeed.

## Answers Teltchierin Charge.

"The other point I want to make is this: Teltchierin objected that certain Powers had given encouragement to bands of raiders in Russia. Well, we certainly have not. We have had nothing to do with Wrangel. When we encouraged intervention in Russia we did it openly, proclaimed it in the Commons, and asked the House to find the money for it. With no concealment at all, we sent munitions there quite openly. We said we would do no more and we kept our word. We have done nothing more.

"We had nothing to do with Wrangel's expedition as we thought it was folly, and I can therefore speak quite frankly about that. I am not going to refer to the documents the Russians handed in, because Signor Schanzer ruled them out of order. I am only going to refer to the general observation I made to Teltchierin, fortified, of course, by the knowledge of what was inside those documents.

"As far as I can see, the suggestion has been, that of the organization of Wrangel's forces with a view to attacking Russia. From what I know of Wrangel's forces, they are a much greater danger to the countries where they now are than to Russia. I have heard of no country yet which got Wrangel's forces which would not be very glad to present them, lock, stock and barrel, to any other country prepared to receive them.

"The countries referred to by Teltchierin are not countries with any agreement with Russia. France has no agreement with Russia. Russia has no agreement with Russia. I think, has no agreement with Russia. Therefore, for the moment, they are not bound by any agreement, whatever they may have done by way of giving trouble to Russia. The moment the documents are accepted, however, they are bound.

## Need for Non-Aggression Pact.

"They are bound afterward not to encourage any raids in Russia, not to organize any attacks upon Russia, just as Russia is bound not to organize any attacks upon them. Any country, after accepting the pact of non-aggression, which encourages, equips or stimulates attacks upon Russia during the period of the pact, is guilty of a breach of an international pact, guilty of a breach of honorable understanding.

"For that reason I am strongly in favor of this. There is nothing which amuses me more in conferences than to hear the descriptions given by the representatives of the harmlessness of their own countries and the mischievousness of every other. Teltchierin describes Russia thus: 'Innocent, harmless, patient, tolerant, attacking nobody, giving no offence and no trouble to any country in the world, seeking only to lead a quiet life.' In fact, the model of all Christian virtues.

"On the other hand, there are Brattiano (Rumania) and Skirmant (Poland), who described their countries

## WASHINGTON HOLDS ALOOF FROM HAGUE

Will Not Alter Original Decision Against Taking Part in Conference.

## UNCHANGED ON RUSSIA

Still Considers Economic Problems Must Be Discussed Before Political.

## WHERE GENOA FAILED

Fostered Soviet Demand for Recognition and Its Hope of Loan.

Special Dispatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD. New York Herald Bureau, Washington, D. C., May 17. It was officially explained to-day that the Harding Administration will not be moved from its original decision not to participate in the proposed Hague conference, regardless of informal representations which are understood to have been made from abroad urging a reconsideration of the decision. No admission was made here to-day of receipt of a reported message from Premier Lloyd George giving fuller explanations of the Hague meeting.

Officials of the Administration explained that it was only by a discussion of the economic problems in Russia that any approach could be made to a settlement of the political problems and until the economic phase of the problem is disposed of Washington will hold aloof.

For the Powers to discuss political features of the Russian situation before a settlement of the economic questions is made, is, as expressed here to-day by a high Government official "to put the cart before the horse."

## Genoa Encouraged Soviet.

It was stated, in the discussion of the situation, that the proceedings at Genoa had been conducted along lines calculated to deceive the world as to the real state of affairs in Russia and to build up false hopes among the Soviet leaders as to what they might expect.

It is believed here that all of the proceedings, both previous to and during the conference, were conducted along lines which fostered the Soviet Government's demand for recognition and encouraged the delegates to make demands that were absurd and impossible.

For example, it is pointed out here that nothing could have been more unfortunate than the demand for a huge loan, as nothing could be more naïvely absurd than for the Soviet leaders to expect any responsible Government to consider such a proposal.

Even if formal recognition were granted to-day, it is pointed out here, there would be no possibility of such a loan being floated.

## Must Respect Contracts.

This Government has no desire to influence the political situation in Russia, so far as the extent of making it clear that proper guarantees of property rights and regard for contracts must precede granting of financial aid. This Government has no intention of lending support to the sort of discussions that have been going on at Genoa. This would not only be a waste of time, but would encourage the Soviet Government to stand out for things which are manifestly impossible of realization.

The Administration believes there is nothing to be gained by refusing to look at a perfectly obvious situation squarely in the face. The facts are regarded as inescapable. No nation, it is believed, which has the ability to do anything for Russia in a financial way is going to do so long as Russia declines to meet her ordinary international obligations to the individual or group of individuals who are going to make loans in Russia unless there are ample guarantees that the money will not be thrown away.

## BLANCHET WINS FRENCH ANNUAL BALLOON RACE

Makes 245 Miles From Paris, Landing Near Bordeaux.

PARIS, May 17 (Associated Press).—Georges Blanchet of France is unofficially declared winner of the annual Balloon race for the Grand Prix of the Aero Club of France, having landed near Bordeaux, 245 miles from Paris, in the Gardens in this city, where the race was started on Sunday afternoon. Mr. Blanchet won the Grand Prix in 1920, 1921 and 1922.

Lieut. E. de Luyter of Belgium, winner of the Gordon Bennett balloon race in the United States in 1920, finished fifth among the eleven starters, with a distance of 210 miles. It appears that he lost the premier honors when his daring plan to cross the Bay of Biscay to Spain was frustrated due to a shift in the winds.

## CHOSEN BY KNIGHTS TEMPLAR.

Menden, Conn., May 17.—Thomas W. Morgan of Hartford was advanced to the office of Right Eminent Commander at the annual convocation of the Connecticut Grand Commandery, Knights Templar, held here to-day.

## CRISIS IN GOVERNMENT DEFEAT PASSES QUIETLY

British Cabinet Hears From Premier and Will Carry On.

LONDON, May 17 (Associated Press).—The crisis projected by the defeat of the Government in the House of Commons last evening passed as suddenly as it arose. The Cabinet, after telegraphic consultation with the Prime Minister at Genoa, has decided to carry on and appoint a select committee to investigate the question of teachers' superannuation, refusal of which in the first instance led to the Government's defeat. A Chamberlain announced the Government's decision in the House. The Government affects to treat the defeat as a minor matter, but examination of the division lists shows that not less than fifty-eight Government supporters, equally divided between Unionists and Liberals, voted against the Government.

## RUSSIA NOW AGREES TO HAGUE MEETING

Continued from First Page.

Lloyd George plan for dual commissions to meet at The Hague, which was presented to the Russians on Monday last, was adopted with an annex. With the amendments carried to-day by the sub-committee it will be sent to the Washington Government probably with a letter from the secretary of the Genoa conference, which is likely to be considered to-morrow at a meeting of the full political commission.

Clause 6 of the annex to the protocol, which refers to the truce or preliminary pact of non-aggression, was amended in such a manner as to make it clear that the truce, as well as applying to the Russian Government proper, will apply also to the eight republics allied with Russia. This would bring in the Far Eastern Republic, with which Japan has been vainly trying to conclude a general treaty.

The Japanese delegation accepted this amendment with the understanding that it must be ratified by the Japanese Government. A second important amendment to the document provides that the truce will continue to operate for a period of four months after adjournment of the Hague meeting. As it had been previously understood that the Hague conference would last about four months, this change is interpreted as indicating a probable European and Asiatic truce of about eight months. This extension is also considered a victory for Mr. Lloyd George because it provides more time for the consummation of the permanent peace pact into which he hopes the truce will be merged.

When asked to-night whether France intended to participate in the Hague meeting Mr. Barthou said many members of the Chamber of Deputies were vigorously opposed to any negotiations whatsoever with the Bolsheviks, and much concerning the Hague so far as France was concerned hinged on the character of the debate in the Chamber after the return and receipt of the report of Mr. Barthou. Address touching on the Russian situation is printed on considerable length in the Italian papers and has made a great impression on the delegates at the conference.

## EDGAR RICKARD SAILS ON RUSSIAN INQUIRY

Director to Decide if Relief Should Continue.

Edgar Rickard, director-general of the American Relief Administration, will sail to-day on the Cunarder Carmania, bound for Russia, where he will ascertain the size of the present harvest and determine whether American charity is justified in continuing relief in the Volga Valley.

Mr. Rickard announced that he would confer abroad with Walter Lyman Brown, director for Europe of the American Relief Administration; Charles William N. Haskell, director for Russia of the American Relief Administration; ex-Gov. James P. Goodrich of Indiana, special investigator, and Soviet officials. He will take up reports from Boarding in the Ukraine, where millions are still in peril, the progress of the food remittance system of the administration, which is separate from its charitable relief work, and child feeding conditions.

"We have no intention of extending relief past the actual emergency of famine conditions," he said.

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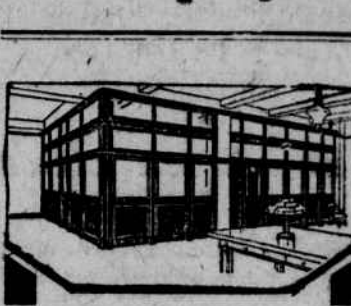
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